

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12
H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01
PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00
NSC-05 ISO-00 /089 W
-----231908Z 060377 /45

P R 231747Z MAR 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO USMISSION NATO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2048
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0145

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC ON EASTERN REACTION
TO WESTERN DATA DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL

REF: USNATO 1236 (DTG 071800Z MAR 77)

ON MARCH 23, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED THE FOLLOWING
REPORT TO THE NAC OF THE RESULTS TO DATE OF THE DISCUSSION
WITH THE EAST, WHICH HAS BEEN CONDUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH
GUIDANCE CONTAINED REFTEL, OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR
THE SIMULTANEOUS TABLING OF DATA ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IN
THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

BEGIN TEXT:

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I. DISCUSSION WITH EAST OF WESTERN PROPOSAL THAT DATA ON US
AND SOVIET FORCES BE TABLED

1. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF MARCH 15, PURSUANT TO
NAC GUIDANCE OF MARCH 10, 1977, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES
PROPOSED TO EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SIMULTANEOUS TABLING OF DATA
ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. IN RESPONSE,

THE EAST HAS INSISTED THAT SEPARATE TOTALS FOR THE FORCES OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BE TABLED.

2. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF MARCH 15, MAKING THIS PROPOSAL, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES SAID THAT THE DISCUSSIONS ON DATA WHICH PARTICIPANTS HAD ENGAGED IN THUS FAR HAD NOT YET BROUGHT TO LIGHT THE REASONS UNDERLYING THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FIGURES ON EASTERN MILITARY MANPOWER. NOR HAD THEY PRODUCED ANY EVIDENCE CONTRADICTING THE WEST'S BELIEF THAT A SUBSTANTIAL DISPARITY EXISTED BETWEEN THE TOTAL OF EASTERN ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA AND THE TOTAL OF WESTERN ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL. NONETHELESS, WESTERN REPS BELIEVED IT WAS IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST TO CONTINUE THESE DISCUSSIONS IN ORDER TO CLARIFY THE ACTUAL FACTS AND IN PARTICULAR TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER BOTH SIDES INTERPRETED THE TERM UNIFORMED ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN AN IDENTICAL WAY AND APPLIED IT IN THE SAME WAY. FOR THESE REASONS, IT NOW APPEARED NECESSARY TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION IN GREATER DETAIL.

3. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES STATED THAT, IN THE WEST'S VIEW, IT WOULD BE A LOGICAL STEP FOR WESTERN AND EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO PUT DOWN THEIR FIGURES ON US AND SOVIET FORCES MILITARY MANPOWER RESPECTIVELY. IT WAS CLEAR THAT, UNDER THE REDUCTION APPROACH OF BOTH SIDES, THERE WAS A REQUIREMENT FOR AGREEMENT ON DATA FOR US AND SOVIET FORCES. ACCORDINGLY, WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WISHED TO PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING: THE WEST WAS PREPARED TO PUT DOWN ITS FIGURES FOR THE TOTAL OF US ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FOR
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THE TOTAL OF US GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 PROVIDED THAT THE EAST AT THE SAME TIME PUT DOWN COMPARABLE FIGURES FOR SOVIET MILITARY PERSONNEL. IN CONFORMITY WITH PAST PRACTICE IN DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS AND DATA, THE TABLING OF THIS ADDITIONAL DATA WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE OVERALL POSITION OF EACH SIDE. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASSUMED THAT EAST WAS WILLING TO AGREE ON THIS PARTICULAR POINT.

4. IN RESPONSE, THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE SAID THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WAS NOT LOGICAL. PARTICIPANTS WERE NOW DISCUSSING OVERALL FIGURES FOR WARSAW TREATY AND NATO COUNTRIES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THESE OVERALL FIGURES WERE MADE UP BY USING THE NATIONAL FIGURES FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. CLARIFICATION OF ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA WOULD NOT PRODUCE AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF IDENTIFYING THE SOURCE OF THE DIFFERENCE IN DATA. ONLY TABLING OF INDIVIDUAL TOTALS BY EACH OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE THIS EFFECT. THE WESTERN EUROPEAN

COUNTRIES AND CANADA NOT ONLY REFUSED TO ASSUME COMMITMENTS ON THE SCOPE AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS BUT WERE REFUSING ALSO TO PUT DOWN FIGURES ON THEIR FORCES. IF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT PUT DOWN NATIONAL DATA SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE EAST WOULD BE PREPARED TO START DETAILED DISCUSSION OF US AND SOVIET FORCES. IF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND CANADA WERE NOT WILLING TO STATE THEIR NATIONAL FIGURES, THE EAST DID NOT SEE THAT THESE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSION OF US AND SOVIET FORCES. IN THE EASTERN VIEW, IT WAS NECESSARY TO DISCUSS ALL THE INDIVIDUAL TOTALS OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE EAST WAS READY TO TABLE ITS NATIONAL TOTALS. IT FOLLOWED THAT THE PROPOSAL WHICH THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD MADE WAS UNACCEPTABLE FOR THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

5. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF MARCH 22, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES AGAIN URGED ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL.

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HOWEVER, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES AGAIN TURNED DOWN THIS PROPOSAL. IN THE MAIN, THEY ARGUED THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE PRESENT STAGE OF DATA DISCUSSION WAS TO FIND THE REASONS FOR THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER, THAT IT WOULD NOT ADVANCE THAT AIM TO TABLE SUB-TOTALS FOR ONLY TWO PARTICIPANTS, AND THAT THE WEST HAD NOT GIVEN CONVINCING REASONS FOR ITS RELUCTANCE TO TABLE SEPARATE TOTALS. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES AGAIN PROPOSED THAT SEPARATE TOTALS FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE TABLED AND AGAIN OFFERED TO DISCUSS US AND SOVIET FORCES FIRST IF THIS WERE DONE. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES STATED THAT THEY WERE OF THE VIEW THAT DISCUSSION OF NUMERICAL DATA, WHICH WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITION OF THE PARTIES ON THE MATTER OF REDUCTIONS AS A WHOLE, COULD CONTRIBUTE TO CLARIFYING THE CAUSES OF THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN DATA AND THAT IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE TABLING OF DATA ON THE STRENGTH OF NATIONAL ARMED FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND THE DISCUSSION THEREOF WAS NOT TO BE LINKED IN ADVANCE WITH ANY MODIFICATION IN THE POSITION OF THESE STATES ON THE FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE REDUCTION ISSUE.

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ACDE-00 ISO-00 ERDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00
EUR-12 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
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P R 231747Z MAR 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO USMISSION NATO
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2049
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0145

FROM US REP MBFR

II. COMMENTS BY THE AD HOC GROUP

1. THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERS THAT THE EASTERN REFUSAL TO AGREE TO THIS WESTERN PROPOSAL, WHICH HAS BEEN REPEATED IN SEVERAL BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, IS A FIRM ONE AND THAT PROLONGED DEBATE WITH THE EAST OVER THIS ISSUE IS NOT LIKELY TO LEAD TO REVERSAL OF THE EASTERN POSITION.

2. AT THE SAME TIME, THE GROUP CONSIDERS THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH FORMED THE BASIS OF ITS REQUEST OF MARCH 2 TO TABLE DATA ON US MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTION AREA REMAIN VALID. THAT IS, THE WESTERN EFFORT TO IDENTIFY I V L B C SOURCE S OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT FORCES CAN BEST BE FURTHERED ON THE BASIS OF MORE SPECIFIC DATA ON THOSE F B R C E S. MOREOVER, WESTERN FAILURE IN THIS WAY TO PRESS ITS EXAMINATION OF THE
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DATA WHICH THE EAST HAD TABLED WILL LEAVE THE EASTERN CONTENTION THAT THERE IS NO MAJOR DISPARITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER WITHOUT EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE.

3. THE AD HOC GROUP HAS PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT TO THE COUNCIL THAT, WITHOUT SUCH A CHALLENGE, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO PRESS ACTIVELY FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE AGREED WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION. SOLUTION OF THE MANPOWER DATA PROBLEM IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE AGREED WESTERN POSITION IN

MBFR. THE TOTAL MANPOWER REDUCTIONS OF BOTH SIDES, THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT BETWEEN THE PHASES, AND THE FINAL COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING, ALL REQUIRE EAST-WEST AGREEMENT ON PRE-REDUCTION MANPOWER LEVELS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. IT THEREFORE IS IMPORTANT THAT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA BE IN A POSITION TO CONTINUE THEIR CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF EASTERN DATA.

4. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SAID THAT TABLING NATIONAL TOTALS WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES.

5. PROTRACTED WESTERN INSISTENCE THAT THE WEST IS WILLING TO ABLE ONLY DATA ON US FORCES WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE WEST TO REVISE THIS POSITION WITHOUT CREATING THE IMPRESSION OF A MAJOR WITHDRAWAL IF IT EVENTUALLY DECIDED TO DO SO.

6. THERE HAS BEEN AN INDICATION THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES MAY MAKE PUBLIC THE EASTERN PROPOSAL THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TABLE INDIVIDUAL TOTALS ON THEIR FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THIS MAY HAPPEN BY THE END OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING RUND ON APRIL 15 AND COULD BE LEAKED TO THE PRESS EVEN EARLIER. THE PRESENT WESTERN POSITION, HOWEVER JUSTIFIED IN OTHER RESPECTS, COULD GIVE RISE TO THE IMPRESSION IN WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION THAT THE WEST IS REFUSING TO TABLE DATA ON WESTERN NATIONAL FORCE LEVELS ALREADY AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES IN EXCHANGE FOR EASTERN DATA

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WHICH HAS HITHERTO BEEN CLASSIFIED. SUCH A POSITION WOULD DIFFICULT TO DEFEND BOTH VIS-A-VIS THE EAST AND IN PUBLIC, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE EAST HAS STATED THAT TABLING NATIONAL TOTALS WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES.

7. IN VIEW OF THESE TACTICAL FACTORS, IT IS HIGHLY DESIRABLE THAT THE COUNCIL DECIDE SOON ON THE NEXT STEP. END TEXT. RESOR

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